2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

462 857 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 861 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

"Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 861 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

88/ For a ten-day period at puberty (sləxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

[7]Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

585 following the repast much of wh.. had been received was distributed among their relatives who were assembled for the feast.

About a month later the groom's parents once more visited the parents of the bride. Again they took presents, and those relatives who accompanied them supplied gifts of their own. The procedure, involving a feast and the re-distribution of presents by the recipients, was very similar to that outlined above on the occasion of the first visit. The bride and groom did not attend. A reciprocal visit and presentation of gifts followed within a very few days. The girl's parents attempted to equal if not surpass the quantity of presents they had received. At this time the recently married couple was present, but only as members of the household.

606 Reciprocal visits and the giving of presents between the relatives-in-law continued at intervals of about a year for two or three years. These formal visits were entirely a family concern and involved family, not individual, relations. The husband and wife whose union was responsible for the establishment of these relations were not more important figures in the ceremonies than any of the other relatives. The customary visits were observed even in their absence. The length of time over which these inter-family visits were continued depended upon a number of factors such as wealth, distance separating the two families, and intimacy between them.

852 Immediately following the birth of the first child a feast was prepared and the two families gathered together to celebrate the occasion. At this time no presents were given.

606 Parents-in-law addressed each other by the reciprocal term ənri'mtən. Relatives by marriage were not restricted in conduct toward each other by special rules or tabus. There was no mother-in-law tabu.

585 In one feast which always followed a marriage the wedded couple were the sponsors and central figures. As soon after the wedding day as they were able to accumulate sufficient food by their own efforts they set a feast to which the whole community was invited. It was usually necessary to have at least one whole deer, and large quantities of supplementary foods. With the giving of this feast the new couple acquired the recognized status of a separate family.

584 The above outline characterizes the traditional and most common procedure in marriage and the establishment of a family. But there were other forms of marriage as well. When a man was without relatives, or far from his own home, he acted as his own representative in meeting the parents of the girl he wished to marry. The initial ceremony was held, but the reciprocal visits were, of necessity, dispensed with. If at a later date the parents of the two met a tardy exchange of presents was usually made.

588 Common law marriages were ordinarily recognized after the birth of a child. The parents often became reconciled after a few years and "completed" the marriage by feasting and exchanging gifts.

587 Mature individuals whose parents were dead or who had been previously married did not observe the procedure customary for younger persons. In minimal

on the hair itself. 302

Combs were made of eight to twelve pieces of dogwood or willow, twined together at one end with Indian hemp or buckskin. The spread of the prongs made a comb about five inches wide and the same in length. The points were sharp and close together. The comb shown in Figure 15, which is four inches long, is cased in deer hide. Combs were undecorated and there was no difference between those used by men and by women. Another type of comb consisted of a number of little willow sticks arranged between the prongs of a forked stick, with a transverse piece bound across them to hold them in place. Such combs were only three or four inches long.

Hair and body were washed with the soapy leaves of dogwood. These were picked in early August, stored for winter use, and when wanted soaked in cold water for an hour to produce a lather. Another soap was provided by the "alkaline" deposit scraped up in certain dry lake beds. 516 314 317

Men plucked out their facial hair. 302

Face and body painting was used only on special occasions, such as dances. It was said to have been performed according to instructions from the individual's power. On the other hand we were told that one might paint as he pleased. Red, yellow, and white clay mixed with grease were used as paints. Alder (?) wood furnished a dark red, charcoal a black; both with a grease base. One informant (Michel) denied the use of black paint. The paint was applied with a tiny stick over a base of deer grease. Sometimes the entire face was colored red and a yellow design applied, or vice versa. Women never painted about the mouth or chin, and never used white. Some typical designs are shown in Figure 16. At puberty girls painted their faces red and yellow except for chin and mouth. A boy on his puberty quest painted himself red (?). Painting was naturally more common when work was light, but was practised chiefly on special occasions such as dances.

Both men and women pierced the upper lip from side to side just below the nose and inserted a shell or string with a bead on each end. This custom was obtained from the Moses-Columbia after they came to Nespelem. A very few wealthy people also pierced the nasal septum and wore a shell through it. 171 304

When girls were two or three years old their ear-lobes were rubbed numb and pierced with a bone awl. The hole was salved with deer fat and first a greased thread, then a stick inserted and worked back and forth frequently for three or four weeks until it was healed. Imported oyster shells or local mussel shells were made into rings and tied to the ears by buckskin thongs. Shells obtained from a small lake, called tsiapū´stEn at the head of the Methow River, were ground on a flat stone. Bone ear ornaments and 301 304 852

flattened gold nuggets were also worn. The ears of boys were pierced too, but not as commonly as girls. As many as six earrings have been reported worn on each ear, a custom learned from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. One old Okanagon man repeatedly pierced his ear lobes as the holes were torn out by heavy ornaments. There was no esoteric reason for piercing the ears.

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302

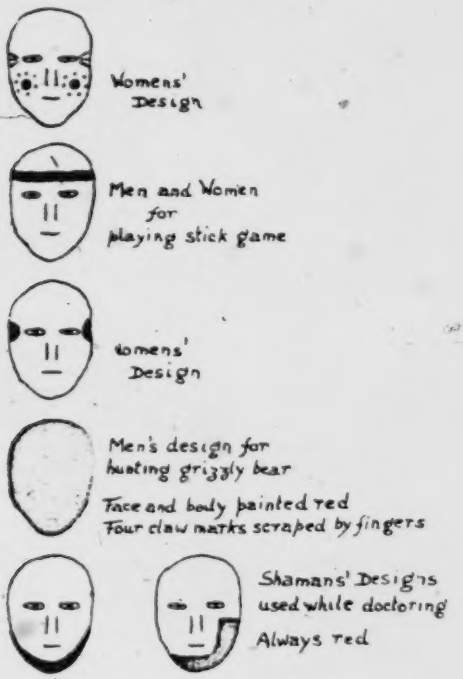

Fig. 16. Typical face painting designs (from native drawings).

Tattooing seems to have been more characteristic of the Northern Okanagon than of the Southern. (Lucy Joe stated that she had never seen a tattooed Wenatchi.) Both men and women tattooed their faces, wrists and the backs of the hands. Mary Carden asserted that women's faces were not tattooed, but that they had a band of decoration around the wrist. Tattooing was done with a sliver of bone or a beaver tooth, inserted into the skin by pushing and twisting, after the skin had been rubbed numb and coated with grease as a body for the pigment. The sliver of bone used as a tattooing needle was scraped to a very sharp point and polished with horsetail (Equisetum). A small groove encircled it near the point to carry the pigment, which was thus deposited when the needle was withdrawn. The pigments were red ochre, yellow ochre and charcoal. The designs were circles and lines of dots. A circle of dots was sometimes made on each

171 304 304 [386]

342 stead of a feast, the women passed salmon
574 and bitter-root in a wooden dish to everyone.
796 As Lucy Joe said, "This was to pay for the house, so that everyone would live all winter."

342 That evening everyone returns to the
852 chief's house for "the washing of the house," a ceremony at which all adolescent children
[761] are whipped ceremonially by a chosen man to strengthen them. It is believed that if a child cries, it will not live long. Small
861 groups away from the chief's village hold the ceremony in the largest house of the group. A blanket is spread on the floor on which each child, fully clad, lies in turn, to receive about five strokes of the whip. Smaller children are given fewer lashes, and if a father thinks his child too little he takes the blows himself, but the following year the child will have to undergo the ordeal. Each child is whipped in this fashion once a year between the ages of five and eleven. Cecile explained the ceremony: "It is just like cleaning the house to do this."[38]

592 All members of the house eat together.
422 Each family keeps its supplies separately on an outside platform. If married children are living with the parents, their supplies are kept together. The women cook together. Each person has a regular sleeping place along the wall and here, near his bedding, he keeps his personal possessions. Bow and arrows are hung on a loop fixed to one of the house posts to keep them from being knocked about.

592 One of the oldest men who is known to
554 have much wisdom is usually looked up to as a house leader. Billy Joe asserted that he was one with considerable spirit power. If a man is of good character (xast) he will take the advice of an older man even though he is not closely related, although it is not obligatory. A man who does not have this type
[578] of respect for his elders is called qast, as would a disobedient child. There is no auth-
[361] ority who determines where in the chosen village site a particular family is to set up its house, or where in the house the beds are to be. These matters are settled by
592 mutual consent without any discussion. Three women in the same house may share one fire-

38 See also Individual Life Cycle.

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was [553] held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of [881] the religious life they were definitely excluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learn-
885 ing techniques and preparing to take on adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather [591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking. [843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
761 sition, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.